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THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VER- SION OF THE PENTATEUCH

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY
SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND INTERPRETATION)

BY
JOHN ROTHWELL SLATER

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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Published August, 1906

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH

Among the heroes and martyrs of the English Reformation none is more worthy of the historian's study than William Tyndale. The singular gaps in the records of his life, which have contributed to the popular neglect of Tyndale, remind one of the similar hiatus in our knowledge of Shakspeare's career; the more because these two sixteenth-century leaders, different in every other respect, were alike in the depth of the impression they made on the English language at a critical stage of its development. It is known to scholars, but hardly to the general public, that the English New Testament of our own time is essentially the work of Tyndale. A comparison of his pioneer version with the later sixteenth-century translations and with the Authorized Version of 1611 shows conclusively that all the changes and improvements from Coverdale down to the American Revision are numerically far less than the phrases and sentences of the exiled scholar of the Reformation period. As one begins to perceive that our rich heritage of perfect phrases and melodious rhythm in the English Testament has descended, not from the bishops of 1611 or of 1558, but from this much-abused martyr of King Henry's reign, the wonder grows that his very name is strange to the ordinary Bible reader, and that his romantic history is all but forgotten. No less intrepid and original than his great predecessor Wiclif, he lived at a time when the new learning made possible a translation from the original tongues, and when the English language had become more flexible, richer in synonyms, and better fitted to render the Hebrew and Hellenic Greek idioms without violence. No less aflame with indignation against the abuses of the priesthood and the wrongs of the English people than was Wiclif, he entered upon his work at precisely the moment when the long-smoldering fires of reformation wanted but a spark to set them off in England, as they had been kindled in Germany by Luther's attack on Tetzl. It was Tyndale's Testament more than Henry's divorce or the minor ecclesiastical reforms of the bishops that started the English Reformation. It was Tyndale's words that were on men's lips in the dark days that followed; Tyndale's matchless rendering of the gospels that the martyrs recited in their dungeons and at the stake; Tyndale's bold doctrines of scriptural interpretation that saved England from the bibliolatry of German Protestantism after

Luther's death. Some of his ideas were too radical for the age. Modern writers who suggest, as if for the first time, that the translator of Scripture should avoid words of ecclesiastical connotation foreign to the original learn with surprise and admiration that Tyndale substituted "congregation" for "church," used "love" in 1 Corinthians, chap. 13, and anticipated other modern innovations in an age when such ideas were strange in England.

It has been often said that in this popularizing of the Scripture, as in other phases of his work, Tyndale simply copied Luther. We shall have to consider at length the direct and the indirect obligations of the English to the German reformer; and shall find large elements of indebtedness which none would have been freer to acknowledge than Tyndale himself, had the question been put to him by his friends rather than by his enemies.¹ But this may be said at the very outset, that to charge a man with "copying Luther" is to pay him a unique compliment, for a more original and inimitable person never lived than the good doctor of Wittenberg, to match whose countless whims and fancies and homely German idioms would be a task for a master-actor. If it be true that Tyndale, moved by Luther's spirit and aided by his genius, brought the gospel to the people of England in a way as suited to the English situation as Luther's was to the very different state of affairs in Germany, it can hardly be a detraction from his merits to acknowledge the relation. The facts have long been obscured by partisans, who have sought to prove either that Tyndale worked absolutely without aid, or that he was a mere camp-follower of the German reformers. Like many other questions touching the Reformation in England, this long-standing controversy over Tyndale's originality has been entangled in ecclesiastical side issues and historical mazes, with which the modern investigator need have little to do. A study of the sources is much more profitable than a fruitless attempt to balance the prejudiced or ignorant opinions of superficial historians.

The present inquiry is devoted to a neglected phase of the work of Tyndale, of much interest to the Old Testament scholar, and not without its bearing on English literary history. Having published his version of the New Testament, and several doctrinal treatises to be mentioned shortly, the reformer proceeded to begin a much larger enterprise, which unhappily he never completed—the translation of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch was issued in 1530. It is a rare book, of which only a few copies exist, and never reprinted until the careful and admirable edition of Dr.

¹ On Tyndale's indebtedness to Luther see Eadie, *The English Bible*, Vol. I, pp. 143-46, 209-12; Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, pp. 87, 88.

J. I. Mombert appeared in 1884.¹ This, the first English version from the Old Testament since the fourteenth century, possesses a peculiar interest for all students of the English Bible. When it appeared, the study of Hebrew was a novelty in England, the first chair of Hebrew in an English university having been established in 1524 at Cambridge,² in the year that Tyndale had left his native land never to return. On the continent scholars had been studying Hebrew, with the aid of learned Jews, for half a century. Hebrew studies flourished in Italy and Spain. Johann Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, and others had cultivated the language with zeal and genius in Germany, and in several of the German universities great advance had been made in this difficult branch of philology. But England was a generation behind Germany in this, as she has since been in some other branches of sacred learning, and Tyndale, when he began his task of rendering the Old Testament into English, had no native precedents to follow. The interesting question arises: How far did he succeed in his aim? To what extent did he use the Hebrew in his version of the Pentateuch? Was he, as his detractors have declared, a mere dabbler in Semitic grammar, parading his etymologies of proper names to hide ignorance of the language itself, and depending almost entirely on the Vulgate and on Luther? Or was the father of our English New Testament also the father of English Hebrew scholarship, who, under many limitations, acquired in Germany an adequate mastery of the language, and made his own version independently and with scholarly discrimination?

That this is no trivial or academic question is shown by two facts: first, that Tyndale's Pentateuch is essentially our own Pentateuch in style and substance, and, so to speak, set the style of rendering Hebrew prose which, as carried out by later translators in the remainder of the Old Testament, has become the grand style for religious compositions in English; second, that, if tradition is to be given due weight, we are to attribute to Tyndale's hand, not only the Pentateuch, published during his lifetime, but the historical books from Joshua through Chronicles as they appeared in print for the first time in the so-called "Matthew's Bible," edited by the martyr John Rogers in 1536, and adopted by Coverdale a year later.³ It is the testimony of early historians that Tyndale left these

¹ *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called the Pentateuch*. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1884.)

² Robert Wakefield was the first incumbent. See *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

³ See Demaus, *Life of William Tyndale*, p. 478; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1484; Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, p. 295. Foxe's reference is as follows: "John Rogers brought up in the Universitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably travelled in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the Merchants Aduenturers, to

books in manuscript, the work at least in part of his imprisonment, and that they were secretly conveyed to Rogers and issued by him. On this hypothesis we owe to Tyndale nearly the entire historical portion of the Old Testament, comprising more than one-half of the whole. In the absence of any proof of this tradition, it would be improper to base any independent argument upon these books; but the certainty that Tyndale carried his Hebrew studies beyond the Pentateuch, and pursued them with eagerness up to the very end of his life, justifies us in regarding him as more than a mere beginner and amateur in the language.

The inquiry is the more interesting because it has been neglected. The historians of the English Bible, devoting large space to Tyndale's New Testament, pass over his Pentateuch with scanty mention, as a minor episode in his career, of only incidental biographical interest. The New Testament, of course, lay nearest to his heart, and was the work by which his influence upon the course of events in England was chiefly exerted. In it he found the true doctrine of salvation with which he sought to displace the erroneous teachings of the church; in it he found the true constitution of the church, which in his controversial writings he set over against the abuses of the hierarchy, the "practice of prelates" which disgraced Christendom. But Tyndale held broad views of Scripture. In his thought the Bible was a progressive revelation, no part of which could be neglected by the Christian believer. In the lives of the patriarchs, the story of the exodus, the history of Israel, he saw innumerable parallels to the experiences of the believer and to the progress of the church; and these depended for their force, not on any allegorizing interpretation such as captivated many of the later reformers, but on a just appreciation of the true relation between sacred and modern history.¹ He deprecated all attempts to veil the historical sense of the Scripture in elaborate mystical metaphor. For him, as for Luther, the men of the Bible were real men, with real trials and defeats and victories from which the Christian might

be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he serued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy seruant and Martyr of God, William Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to papish superstition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forsaken their native country). In conferring with them the scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospell of God, in so much that he cast of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himselfe with them two in that paynefull & most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the Englishe tongue, which is intituled: *The Translation of Thomas Mathew.*"

¹ For his view of biblical allegories and their legitimate exposition, one of the pithiest passages in his writings, see the *Preface to Leviticus* (Mombert, p. 294).

learn as from other biography, with added force because of the relation of these ancient worthies to events supreme in their sacred significance. The marginal notes which so scandalized Sir Thomas More and Tyndale's other enemies, lacking, as they sometimes are, in good taste, as when he appends to the inspired text sarcastic flings at the Pope and the bishops, convey to the modern reader a sense of reality and candor.¹ Here was a man for whom the Bible was a living book, in vital touch with the affairs of distant ages, having its lessons for priest and plowman, king and subject, master and servant, saint and sinner. As contrasted with the older exegetes and with the post-Reformation reactionary school, Tyndale stands revealed to us as in many respects a modern of the moderns in his attitude toward the older Scriptures.

Holding such a view of the meaning of the law and the prophets of Israel, he certainly did not look upon his arduous task of translating the Old Testament as an irksome undertaking, to be got through with in the easiest way possible, merely to complete his version of the Bible. Rather did he regard this great undertaking as the crowning achievement of his life, and gave to it all the learning and enthusiasm with which he carried through the earlier works of his exile. When the news came to him at Vilvorde that his days were numbered, and he faced death with his task more than half undone, it must have been the bitterest disappointment to him to know that the matchless poetry of the Psalms, the pleadings and warnings and promises of the prophets, must be rendered by other hands than his. History has shown that his successors were capable of carrying on the work in the same large spirit with which he began it, falling naturally into the style which he originated; so that the English Old Testament, as we have it, shows no break, but is essentially a literary unit. But the fact that the men who gave us the English Psalms and Proverbs and Isaiah could doubtless have translated the historical books as well as Tyndale, had his version never been begun, should not lead us to belittle the worth of that beginning, nor to underrate its influence on the subsequent history of our Bible.

We shall inquire, first, under what circumstances Tyndale gained his knowledge of Hebrew; second, what sources he used in his version of the Pentateuch and to what extent his work was original; third, what influence his version exerted upon later translations and upon English literature. These are the three phases of the subject upon which there has been most controversy among those writers who have dealt with the matter at all, and upon which no agreement has been reached. The uncertainty which

¹ See Demaus, p. 238.

still prevails is due in part to scanty evidence, in part to preconceived theories.¹

It will be desirable, before considering the first question, to introduce an outline of Tyndale's life, to serve as a groundwork for chronological references. The sources are not abundant. Foxe's account in the *Acts and Monuments* is the basis of all the later narratives. While biographers accept large portions of it as authentic, they reject certain statements which conflict with other sources, with less hesitation because of Foxe's well-known inaccuracy in matters of historical data. To Foxe must be added the indirect evidence in the controversial works of Sir Thomas More directed against Tyndale, a voluminous correspondence preserved in the English state papers bearing upon the attempts first to apprehend Tyndale, and afterward to induce him to return to England as a tool of the ministry; and a few scanty but interesting hints in the Belgian state papers relating to the imprisonment and trial. Autobiographical references in Tyndale's own writings are the most important of all, but these are unfortunately too rare and ambiguous to give much assistance in correcting the romancing instinct of Foxe and filling the large gaps left by existing documents. The materials have been worked up in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, and similar works; but most elaborately and impartially in the standard biography by R. Demaus (London, 1871), which has not been superseded and is not likely to be. It is based upon a careful study of the sources, and is marked by judicious, but not intemperate, admiration of the great reformer. Mr. Demaus had access to many manuscript records not known to the earlier biographers, spent years in the unraveling of ingenious clues, and produced what will probably continue to be the authoritative life. For the study of Tyndale's New Testament in its historical and bibliographical phases there is a much larger body of literature, including bibliographical collations, facsimiles, reprints, etc. But for his life, particularly his work on the Old Testament, not much can be added to the list given above. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. LVII, p. 428) by Edward Irving Carlyle is longer than that in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or other general works of reference, but contains no new material, and appears to be based chiefly on Demaus.

William Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire² between 1480 and 1490. The date 1484 assumed by Demaus rests upon general considera-

¹ On the subject of Tyndale's Hebrew Scholarship see Demaus, pp. 217, 233-37; Mombert, p. lxxxvi; *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500, 562, an unsigned review of Mombert's book. ² Foxe, "About the Borders of Wales" (p. 1075).

tions rather than upon direct evidence. Of his early life next to nothing is known. He was sent to Oxford, entered in Magdalen Hall perhaps about 1504, and spent some years in the university, winning the bachelor's and master's degrees. This was the period when the mediæval seclusion of Oxford was being invaded by disciples of the new learning from the continent, and Greek studies were enthusiastically prosecuted by the younger men. Grocyn and Linacre were teaching the classic Greek; Latimer and Colet lectured on the Greek Testament. The influence of Colet, particularly of his lectures on the Pauline epistles, must be regarded as fundamental in forming the opinions of young Tyndale. In 1510 Erasmus of Rotterdam began his five years of residence at the sister University of Cambridge, whither Tyndale went to continue his studies. Here he imbibed the bold and radical views of the great Dutch scholar, whose contempt for the obscurantist policy of the church led him into utterances that aroused the hostility of the authorities. Demaus suggests that Tyndale's great purpose of translating the Scriptures may have been incited, or at least strengthened, by the views of Erasmus as expressed in a famous passage of his works.

How long Tyndale remained at Cambridge is not certain. By 1521, if not earlier, he returned to his native county of Gloucester to serve as tutor and chaplain in the family of Sir John Walsh.¹ Even in this remote country parish his radical opinions excited controversy among the neighboring clergy, and he was rebuked by the chancellor of the diocese.² It was during the two years spent there that his plan of translating the New Testament took form. In this purpose he was not moved by the example of Luther; for Luther's translation did not appear until 1522, and Tyndale can hardly have known much of Luther's plans prior to this time. Rather was this great purpose based on a conviction that reformation of the church in England must come in large part through enlightenment of the common people, who could not read the Vulgate and were kept in ignorance by the clergy. It was in controversy with a learned man of the community, says Foxe, that Tyndale uttered his famous promise: "I defie the Pope and all his lawes: and further added, that if God spared hym life, ere many yeaeres he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did."³

In 1523 the young scholar, full of enthusiasm and hope, departed for London, where he expected to secure the patronage of the new bishop, Tunstal, a man known to be interested in the Greek studies of Erasmus

¹ Foxe spells the name Welche (p. 1075).

² Foxe, p. 1075.

³ Foxe, p. 1076.

and More. His reception was unfavorable. The bishop, whatever his academic sympathies may have been, was an uncompromising opponent of the Lutheran doctrines then spreading through England, and dismissed Tyndale without encouragement. Having failed to secure recognition for his project from the man who seemed the most likely ecclesiastic in England to afford such help, he saw that he must work henceforth independently and in secret. For some months he resided in London with a wealthy merchant, to whom he had been introduced by Latimer, Humphrey Monmouth. In Monmouth's household he found that sympathy which had been denied him at the episcopal palace, met many learned men, and made some progress in his studies. Having learned that he could not with safety issue his translation in his native land, he left London in May, 1524, for Germany. Henceforth he was an exile; and his great work for the English nation was wrought in a foreign land, aided by foreign scholars, recognized during his lifetime only by the faithful Monmouth and a small group of courageous Englishmen who were later numbered among the humbler leaders of the English Reformation.

Reaching Hamburg, he lost no time in journeying to the Saxon city of Wittenberg to see Luther.¹ He arrived at this Mecca of reformers at a somewhat inopportune time for personal intercourse with the apostle of German Protestantism. Luther was in the midst of the busiest period of his career, when the land was torn asunder with the struggle known as the Peasants' War, and with the political upheaval consequent upon the contest between Leo X and the German states. Luther had published his New Testament two years before, and was now issuing controversial pamphlets, preaching in the university church, and working on his Old Testament. Nothing is definitely known of the personal relations of the English visitor with his German colleague. Those who deny that Tyndale made any use of Luther's labors go so far as to reject altogether the statements of early writers as to this visit to Wittenberg, but without sufficient reason. Assuming that these contemporary accounts are correct, Tyndale must have enjoyed in the university town a measure of quiet and sympathy which enabled him to make rapid progress with his version of the New Testament. Hebrew and Greek had been taught in the university for years. Disciples of Johann Reuchlin, the father of German Hebraists, were to be found there, as well as Greek scholars and theologians. During the nine or ten months of his sojourn Tyndale

¹ Sir Thomas More, *Dialogue, Confutation*; Cochläus, *Commentarii de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri*, p. 132; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1076. Demaus, pp. 94-97. *Contra*, Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 24 ff.

probably began his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, facilities for which were greater at Wittenberg than at Hamburg, Cologne, or Worms—cities where he spent the following years. For at Wittenberg he might have the assistance in his Hebrew studies of Christian scholars; while in the other cities he must depend chiefly or entirely upon Jewish instructors, many of whom were still suspicious of Christians desiring their aid.

With the help of his amanuensis, William Roye, an eccentric person who gave him more trouble than his work was worth, Tyndale translated the New Testament in less than a year. Believing it to be impolitic to have his work bear the imprint of a Wittenberg printer, and so expose it at the start to the censorship of German and English enemies, he removed to Cologne, after a trip to Hamburg to receive a remittance of funds from Monmouth. The printing of the book at Cologne was interrupted by the discovery of his project through the investigations of Cochläus, an agent of the church. With the sheets of the first part of the book, Tyndale and Roye hurried away in time to escape arrest, and resumed the enterprise in the safer refuge of the city of Worms, already a center of the Protestant movement. Here, from the press of Peter Schoeffer, was issued in 1526 the octavo Testament of Tyndale. The quarto sheets of the earlier portion brought from Cologne were also, it is believed, completed in that form, by Schoeffer or some other printer, and thus two editions were put into circulation. The only complete copies now in existence, however, are all of the octavo edition. Buschius states that six thousand copies of the Testament were printed at Worms,¹ and this has been supposed to include both editions. Of these six thousand only one incomplete quarto and two octavos are now extant.

Within a few months of its publication, Tyndale's anonymous translation reached England. In the spring of 1526 it was secretly circulated in large numbers. Coming soon to the notice of the authorities, it was condemned by Tunstal and others, at first without knowledge of its authorship, regarded simply as the work of the Lutherans, whose activity was becoming notorious. The burning of such copies as could be seized did not retard its circulation. An unauthorized reprint by Christopher of Endhoven at Antwerp² helped to swell the supply needed to meet the growing demand. Desperate attempts were made in England to buy up and destroy all copies that could be found. This brisk demand merely moved the Dutch printers to issue still another edition. Their two editions are said by George Joye to have numbered about five thousand copies. The

¹ Spalatinus' Diary in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 231.

² Demaus, p. 157.

investigations set on foot by Tunstal and Wolsey finally succeeded in fixing the responsibility for the translation upon Tyndale and Roye. But Roye, already separated from his master because of his erratic habits, had been lost track of, and Tyndale managed for the time to elude the emissaries of the English prelates.

In 1527 he left Worms. Direct evidence of his residence for the next two years is lacking. For reasons of prudence he took care to keep his movements secret. It has been assumed, however, by biographers, from certain indications, that he made his home in the university town of Marburg, a center of Reformation influence second only to Wittenberg itself.¹ Here, in common with other reformers, he would enjoy the powerful protection of the Protestant Landgraf Philip of Hesse-Cassel, and the advantages of the new Protestant University of Marburg founded by that ruler. Here also there was a printing establishment less likely to be invaded by English spies than those at Cologne and Worms, conducted by Hans Luft.² Among his associates here was the learned Hermann Buschius, whom he had already met at Worms, and whose testimony to his learning is worthy of note.³ Another illustrious man whom Tyndale probably met at Marburg was the Scottish protomartyr Patrick Hamilton, who spent a few months there in 1527 with three companions.

In the following spring, May 8, 1528, Tyndale issued from the press of Hans Luft his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, a work on the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, treating of the duties of a Christian citizen in his religious, family, social, and civic relations. Of the contents of these important works, and their bearing upon the English Reformation, this is not the place to speak.

During 1529 the attacks on Tyndale from English sources increased in violence. In particular the pamphlet campaign of Sir Thomas More against him began; a controversy which was renewed several years later and led to some of Tyndale's ablest polemic writings. During that year Tyndale visited Antwerp, presumably in connection with arrangements for promoting the exportation of his New Testament and other works. It happened that More and Tunstal were then on the continent assisting in the negotiation of the Treaty of Cambray; and Tunstal went

¹ Demaus, chap. vii.

² Dr. Mombert attempts to show that "Malborow in the land of Hesse" is not Marburg, but a pseudonym for Wittenberg. He presents arguments tending to show that Hans Luft was never in Marburg. See his preface, p. xxix. Cf., *contra*, *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

³ P. 22.

to Antwerp in the hope of seizing some of Tyndale's Testaments. As in the former case, the purchase of a large supply for confiscation was easily effected, but the publication of further editions was thereby made possible. There is uncertainty as to Tyndale's movements during 1529. Foxe relates¹ that the translator sailed from Antwerp for Hamburg, was wrecked, with the loss of all his books and manuscripts, reached Hamburg by another ship, and spent some months there, from Easter to December, translating, with Coverdale's aid, the entire Pentateuch. The reference to Coverdale is not accepted as very important by biographers, as Coverdale could hardly have aided Tyndale in the actual task of translation, being at that time but slightly acquainted with Hebrew. The entire incident is believed by Demaus² to be confused or misdated, as it conflicts with the Antwerp anecdote about Tunstal, which is placed in the late summer of 1529. Demaus thinks it probable that, instead of going to Hamburg at this time, Tyndale returned to Marburg; and, if so, may have been present at the famous debate between Luther and Zwingli upon the eucharist, which led to the final separation between the German and the Swiss reformers.

Whether the work of translating the Pentateuch was accomplished at Hamburg or at Marburg, it was completed by the latter part of 1529; for the Genesis bears the imprint of Hans Luft, the Marburg printer, under date of January 17, 1530. The Pentateuch was not printed as a whole, but the several books appear to have been issued at brief intervals, perhaps in two groups, which were bound together. Genesis and Numbers are in black-letter; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, in roman type. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this diversity of type. Some have supposed that the three books in roman were published in some other city, but Demaus finds that all five books have the same form, the same style of ornamental title-pages, and the same paper. Each book has an introduction, marginal notes, and a glossary of Hebrew words and proper names containing the etymology of these terms as understood by the translator.

Having seen his Pentateuch safely through the press, Tyndale entered upon the most important of his controversial works, *The Practice of Prelates*. This was an attack upon the hierarchy, particularly the Pope and the English bishops, in which their excesses and extortions were satirically compared with the simplicity of the New Testament church polity. Wolsey came in for special denunciation for his selfish ambition, not alone from

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

² P. 229.

the point of view of an ecclesiastical reformer, but considered from Tyndale's position as a patriot and still loyal supporter of the king.

The attacks of Sir Thomas More upon Tyndale were instigated by Tunstal, who wrote to him March 7, 1528,¹ requesting that he undertake the defense of the Catholic faith against Lutheran heretics. More was the most learned man in England, a Greek scholar, friend of Erasmus and Colet, author of *Utopia*, a defender hitherto of liberal principles in religion and government. The singular contrast between his previous career and the bitterness and narrowness displayed by him toward his exiled fellow-countryman, Tyndale, is one of the puzzles of literary history. The first volume of this controversy, *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knight . . . wherein he treated divers matters . . . with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale*, appeared in June, 1529, just before More left for Cambray. Tyndale worked on his reply during 1530 and published it at Amsterdam in 1531. More answered in 1532 with his *Confutation*, following this up with passages in the *Debellation of Salem and Byzance*, the *Apology*, and the *Answer to the Poisoned Book*. Much of More's bitterness was due to Tyndale's mistaken charge that the lord chancellor had been moved by mercenary motives in undertaking the task of defending the church against the reformers. The subject-matter of the volumes on both sides covers the whole field of the Reformation dogmas, the alleged abuses of the church, and the merits and defects of Tyndale's version. Notwithstanding More's superior learning in general history and politics, and the great advantage he possessed because of his official position and his intimate acquaintance with the rapidly changing internal affairs of England, he was unquestionably worsted in the argument. In his later works he shows that he himself felt this, and from urbane controversy he descends to vulgar and malicious abuse.

Tyndale in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* had laid down principles in regard to the supremacy of the state over the church in all civil affairs which now became popular in court circles at home. For Wolsey had been superseded by Thomas Cromwell, and it was Cromwell's plan to assert the rights of the king against the claims of the Pope. This new premier, only superficially acquainted with Tyndale's writings, believed that a pamphleteer so acute and eloquent might render valuable service in this campaign. He therefore, without full consultation with the king, directed the envoy at Antwerp, Stephen Vaughan, to ascertain on what terms Tyndale would return to England. It appears that this was not a scheme to entrap Tyndale and then put him out of the way, but a genuine

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 711; Demaus, p. 263.

attempt to bring him back as an ally in the new policy inaugurated by Cromwell. Vaughan, after some correspondence with Tyndale, had three interviews with him at Antwerp during the early months of 1531, and was completely won over by the evident sincerity and power of the supposed heretic. He could not, however, persuade the exile to risk his liberty and his life by setting foot in England, where More and Tunstal were still breathing out slaughter against him. Meantime Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates* having come to the notice of Cromwell and of his royal master, the situation suddenly changed. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was a pleasing book in a king's ears. *The Practice of Prelates* was rank heresy and treason. Cromwell, by Henry's command, made Vaughan cease his efforts to enlist Tyndale in the king's service. Before long Vaughan was superseded at Antwerp by a man of another stamp, Sir Thomas Elyot, and the attitude toward Tyndale became one of hostility. But for a time the exile evaded his enemies.

During that year, 1531, he translated and published a translation of the book of Jonah, with a prologue. Subsequently he suspended his translation work in order to enter upon the task of expounding the Scripture. In 1531 appeared his exposition of the First Epistle of John. In 1532, after he had left Antwerp, and while he was roaming from one German city to another, an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount was published. This was to some extent based on Luther's homilies on the same portion of Scripture, but was nevertheless an original work. In 1533 there was published anonymously at Nuremberg a treatise entitled *The Supper of the Lord . . . wherein incidentally More's letter against John Fryth is confuted*. This is attributed to Tyndale; it is an exposition of the sixth chapter of John. Written to defend Tyndale's friend John Fryth, now under arrest in England, it was without avail. Fryth, who had been with Tyndale on the continent much of the time since 1528, and was his closest companion, was tried, condemned, and suffered martyrdom July 4, 1533.

The vigor of the pursuit of Tyndale having now temporarily abated, he settled again in Antwerp, and spent about two years there quietly, busy with the revision of the Pentateuch and the New Testament. New editions of both were issued in 1534. In the revised edition of the Pentateuch the textual changes were confined to the book of Genesis.¹ Some alterations were made in the glossaries and prologues. The revision of the New Testament was radical and extensive. Prologues and marginal notes were also added. This revised edition was preceded by an unauthorized and garbled edition of the Testament by Tyndale's former friend,

¹ See a collation of these alterations in Mombert, p. ciii.

George Joye, who introduced a few changes for doctrinal reasons, and sought a scholar's credit for a piece of literary piracy. It led to a bitter controversy between him and Tyndale. Early in 1535 Tyndale had a second revision ready for the press, but was arrested before its publication.

The plot by which the great translator fell into the hands of his enemies was not instigated by King Henry nor by the dominant party in England, now by no means ill disposed toward him. It was rather the work of the Catholic reactionaries, foiled in their attempt to prevent Henry's breach with Rome, and furious against Tyndale as one of the leaders in the Protestant movement, as he was also the most defenseless. Betrayed through the treachery of a supposed friend, Henry Philips, he was arrested in the streets of Antwerp by the officers of the Emperor Charles V, and imprisoned in the castle of Vilvorde, eighteen miles away. The date of his arrest is fixed by a document still in the archives at Brussels at about May 23, 1535.

Efforts were made to save him from the heretic's fate. His friend Thomas Poyntz, at whose house he had resided for a year, risked his own life in the vain attempt to change the determination of the authorities. Cromwell, when appealed to, used some pressure to obtain the same end, but failed. The trial, before a special commission, occupied several months in 1536. Tyndale answered the elaborate charges of his prosecutors with ability and eloquence, but the conclusion was foregone. In mid-summer sentence of death was passed upon him. During his prison life he pursued his studies so far as he was able. A Latin letter written by him to the governor of the prison, requesting warmer clothing, candles, and the use of his Hebrew books, is still extant. On October 6, 1536, he suffered martyrdom at Vilvorde, being first strangled and then burned.¹

Having before us this outline of Tyndale's life, the first question bearing upon the subject of this paper is: Where and how did he learn Hebrew?

The answer to this question must be wholly inferential. Tyndale, so far as can be judged from the history of his early life, knew nothing of Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524. He was to some extent acquainted with Hebrew before writing *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, published in the spring of 1528. He translated the Pentateuch in 1529. This fixes the period of his first Hebrew studies upon which his translation was based between 1524 and 1528.

¹ Foxe tells, in much detail, the story of the arrest, imprisonment, and efforts to save Tyndale's life (pp. 1077-79).

Between his arrival in Germany in 1524 and his arrest in 1535, Tyndale spent his time in the following cities, so far as can be discovered or surmised:

Hamburg:	May, 1524
Wittenberg:	May, 1524-April, 1525
Hamburg:	April, 1525
Cologne:	April-September, 1525
Worms:	October, 1525-. . . (?) 1527
Marburg(?):	. . . 1527-August, 1529
Antwerp:	August, 1529
Hamburg(?):	. . . 1529
Marburg:	December, 1529-. . . 1530
Antwerp:	1531-1535

Since his stay at Hamburg in May, 1524, and again in April, 1525, was brief, and the period of not more than five months spent at Cologne was occupied with the printing of the unfinished quarto New Testament, Tyndale learned his Hebrew in Wittenberg, Worms, and Marburg. Inasmuch as the early months of his stay at Wittenberg must have been chiefly occupied with the translation of the New Testament, not to mention the acquisition of the German language, we may probably place the earliest date of his Hebrew studies in the beginning of 1525; and inasmuch as the translation of the Pentateuch must have occupied the most of 1529, the study of the language preparatory to that task can hardly have continued much beyond 1528. This leaves four years during which Tyndale may have labored steadily or at intervals upon the Hebrew grammar and Scriptures. But there is evidence that by the second year of this period he had already made much progress in the language. Herman Buschius, one of the group of German Humanists which included Reuchlin, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, and other leaders in the revival of learning, met Tyndale at Worms before August 11, 1526, and told Spalatin that the Englishman who translated the New Testament was "so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue."¹ We must allow for some exaggeration in this statement, since it is highly improbable that Tyndale could actually converse with any fluency in Hebrew, and unlikely that he had much fluency in the Italian and Spanish. But the words of Buschius, recorded by a disinterested third person, certainly show that Tyndale had made more than a beginning in Hebrew when he had been in Worms only about nine months. We are led therefore to assume a period of elementary study at Wittenberg during the latter months of his

¹ Diary of Spalatinus, printed in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 431.

stay there (January-April, 1525); a partial interruption, possibly, during the busy period of getting the New Testament to press at Cologne and Worms (April-December, 1525); a renewed study, under Jewish guidance, at Worms during 1526 and part of the following year; and a further period of study in a university atmosphere with scholarly associates at Marburg, 1527-29.

It will now be necessary to examine the evidence for the theory above outlined as to the time and places of Tyndale's Hebrew studies. That he knew no Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524, is to be inferred from three considerations. First, Hebrew was not taught at Oxford or Cambridge prior to that time. Second, in the absence of Christian teachers at the universities, Tyndale, so far as we can judge, had no opportunity of learning from Jewish instructors during his sojourn in London (1523-24). There is no evidence that any impulse had yet reached England from the enthusiastic campaign of Hebrew study in Germany started by the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy. Third, there is no evidence that copies of the *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* of Reuchlin (1506) or other grammatical manuals had reached England during Tyndale's residence at the universities. So we conclude, in the absence of any proof or contemporary hint to the contrary, that neither from Christians, Jews, nor books did Tyndale learn anything of Hebrew in England.

Evidence of the progress of Tyndale's Hebrew studies, in addition to the testimony of Buschius in the summer of 1526, is found in the two doctrinal treatises published in the spring of 1528, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*.

In *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* appears this remark on the word "Mammon":

First, Mammon is a Hebrew word and signifieth riches or temporal goods, namely all superfluity, and all that is above necessity and that which is required unto our necessary uses wherewith a man may help another without undoing or hurting himself: for *hamon* in the Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude or abundance of money, and therefore cometh *mahamon* or *mammon*, abundance or plenteousness of goods or riches.¹

In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* is this comment on the Hebrew idiom:

St. Jerome also translated the Bible into the mother tongue, why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue

¹ *The Fathers of the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 103.

agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin.¹

With reference to the places where Tyndale learned Hebrew and the sources of his knowledge many inferential conclusions can be drawn from the well-known history of the Talmud controversy which ushered in the Reformation.

Johann Reuchlin was the first German Christian to study Hebrew. Born at Pforzheim in 1455, educated in Greek at Paris and Basel, he became a teacher of the classics, though also practicing the profession of law. In middle life, after a brilliant career in diplomatic service, he began the serious study of Hebrew with Loans, the Jewish physician to the emperor Frederick III. In 1498 at Rome he continued these studies with another learned Jew, Obadiah Sforzo. Returning to Germany, he began to teach the language to the many eager humanists at Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and other cities where the Greek learning was already cultivated. In 1506 he issued his *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*, the first Hebrew grammar in a European language for the use of Christians, if we except the brief and imperfect sketch published in 1503 by Conrad Pellicanus, who had learned something of the language by working over Hebrew manuscripts almost without instruction. In 1512 Reuchlin issued the Hebrew text of the penitential Psalms with grammatical notes. He was regarded as the most learned Hebraist in Germany, though during the first decade of the century numerous competent scholars had followed his example and studied the language under the guidance of learned Jews in Germany, Italy, and France.

When therefore in 1509 an attack on the Jews and confiscation of their books were planned by certain of the Dominican monks of Cologne, led by John Pfefferkorn, it was to Reuchlin that the emperor, Maximilian, referred this subject to investigate and report. His reply, defending the Jewish books against the charge of insulting Christianity, angered his enemies beyond measure. A controversy ensued which lasted for six years, and ultimately involved all the representative men of Germany on one side or the other; the Humanists siding with Reuchlin in defense of the Jews, the ecclesiastics and many of the university faculties against him. Though Reuchlin escaped condemnation in the proceedings brought against him for his refusal to recant, he suffered much abuse and material

¹ *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Parker Society edition, 1848), p. 148.

losses for his stand. It was the indignation aroused among the liberals by the bigotry displayed in this controversy, together with the satires of the *Encomium Moriae* and the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, which prepared the way for the Lutheran Reformation.

The bearing of this Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy upon the general introduction of Hebrew instruction into German universities is obvious. When the young Humanists, hitherto content with the newly discovered riches of the Greek classics, found themselves forbidden by the obscurantist party in the church to read the dangerous Jewish works or to attempt to study the Old Testament in the original, that was the very thing they were the most eager to do. Accordingly, the natural course of events was hastened; the Hebrew instruction, which under normal conditions might have taken a generation to spread through the universities, and become popular, sprang at once into a place second only to Greek. The demand for teachers sent many men to Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, Pellicanus, and the other pioneers, for grounding in the hitherto despised language. Textbooks were issued in rapid succession.¹

Thus, when Tyndale reached Germany, Hebrew was no longer a novelty in the centers of learning. Reuchlin was dead, but his younger associates and pupils were fairly well equipped to carry on his work.

¹ The following list of Hebrew textbooks published from 1500 to 1530 is given in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Many of these ran through several editions.

- 1504. Pellicanus, Conrad. *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg).
- 1506. Reuchlin, Johann. *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Pforzheim)
- 1508. Tissardus, Franciscus. *Grammatica Hebraica et Graeca* (Paris).
- 1513-1521. Guidaccerius, Agathius. *Institutiones Graecae Hebraicae* (Rome).
- 1516. Capito, W. F. *Institutiuncula in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1518. Boeschenstein, John. *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones* (Wittenberg).
- 1502. Münster, Sebastian. *Epitome Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1520. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutiones Hebraicae* (Lyons).
- 1522. Anonymous. *Rudimenta Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1524. Münster, Sebastian. *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1525. Aurigallus, Matthew. *Compendium Hebraicae Chaldaeeque Grammaticae* (Wittenberg).
- 1526. Zamorensis, Alphonsus. *Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraicae* (Complutum).
- 1528. Van Campen, John. *Ex Variis Libellis Eliae . . . quidquid ad Graecam Hebraicam est necessarium* (Louvain).
- 1528. Fabricius, Theodorus. *Institutiones Linguae Sanctae* (Cologne).
- 1528. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutionum Hebraicarum Abbreviatio* (Lyons).
- 1520. Clendardus, Nicolas. *Tabulae in Graecam Hebraicam* (Louvain).
- 1530. Sebastianus, Augustus. *Grammatica Linguae Ebraeae* (Marburg)

Chairs of Hebrew existed at Heidelberg, Wittenberg,¹ and perhaps at others of the universities, while one was established at the new University of Marburg about the time of Tyndale's arrival there.

When Tyndale, in the year 1529, set about the work of translating the Pentateuch, his equipment for the task was by no means meager. He had, first of all, acquired facility in the difficult art of translation by his New Testament. In that task he had chosen the style which seemed best fitted for rendering the Scriptures—a style so simple in its structure, so close to the paratactic quality of Hellenic Greek, that it is well-nigh transparent. The reader imagines he is reading the one inevitable, obvious sentence which alone could render the original into English; and not until it is compared with the painful artificialities of modern attempts to translate the New Testament into contemporary speech, not until the scholar compares Tyndale's Testament with the current English of the early Tudor period, is the full significance of this first modern version perceived. Those who are never content to leave a writer more than the merest vestige of originality point to Wiclif's version, and seek by parallel columns to demonstrate Tyndale's heavy indebtedness of Wiclif. It is not to be denied that manuscript copies of Wiclif's Testament circulated freely as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century, and that Tyndale was, of course, familiar with it. Neither can it be denied that in the choice of words, notwithstanding the obsolete diction of the earlier translator, Tyndale was often content to adopt phrases that commended themselves to him. No friend of Tyndale needs to exalt him by depreciating Wiclif. But Tyndale expressly declares that he was not dependent on his predecessor, making his own translation throughout rather than revising the old.²

On the question of Tyndale's English style as a translator we have fortunately a considerable basis for comparison in his voluminous doctrinal, controversial, and expository works. As might be expected, in these writings the sentences are longer, the rhetorical balance more elaborate; but both in invective and in exhortation, in the biting epigram and the eloquent homily, we find evidence of that genius for cadences and rhythmic flow of syllables which marks our English Bible above all other works of English prose. The only writers of his age in whom we find this style

¹ Among the Hebraists in Luther's circle at Wittenberg were Matthæus Aurogallus, Johann Forster, Bernhard Ziegler, and George Rörer. See Buchwald, *Doktor Martin Luther*, p. 321.

² "I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like another in the Scripture beforetime" ("Epistle to the Reader," subjoined to the New Testament).

developed, with its nice balance of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon words and syntax, are Latimer, in his sermons, for the short sentence and pithy phrase, and Cranmer, translator of the larger part of the *Prayer Book* for the rhythms. It was not the common style of learned men in the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More shows few traces of it. He writes a Latinized English without flexibility and without melody. The English version of the *Utopia* is, of course, not by More at all, but by one Ralph Robinson, and belongs to the following generation.

This style of Tyndale's, which set the fashion for Coverdale and all his successors, owes not a little of its charm to the fact that it was shaped in its phrasing by the loose syntactical structure of the Greek Testament. It is to be noted that among the numerous translations of the Early Tudor period those from the French—for example, Lord Berners' version of Froissart—most nearly approach this style of Tyndale's; and for the obvious reason that the translator in each case happened to be too good a scholar to paraphrase in Latinized periods a narrative told in short words and co-ordinate clauses. We have but to compare Tyndale at his worst—that is, in his most vehement tirades against More—with the typical pamphlets and formal correspondence of Henry's reign, to feel instantly the individuality of the man and his feeling for the new English prose that had so lately come into being.

If this was the first and one of the most important of Tyndale's qualifications, when he undertook the translation of the Pentateuch, a second was his Hebrew studies, already referred to. The apparatus at his command can be estimated with some approach to probability.

For Hebrew grammar he had at his command the considerable number of textbooks enumerated above, of which those by Reuchlin (1506), Münster (1520), and the two published at Wittenberg by the leading Hebraists there, Boeschenstein (1518) and Aurigallus (1525), were probably his chief authorities, since they would naturally be the most accessible.

For lexicons he had the vocabulary accompanying Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* (1506), Sebastian Münster's *Lexicon hebraicum chaldaicum* (Basel, 1508, 1523), and perhaps Pagninus' *Thesaurus linguae sanctae sive lexicon hebraicum* (Lyons, 1529).

For the Hebrew text there was no want of printed editions. At least five had been printed in Italy and Spain since 1488, the most popular of which was that of Bomberg, published at Venice in 1517. This included the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, of which Tyndale is supposed by some editors to have made occasional use.

For the Vulgate there were, of course, many printed editions. Of the

Septuagint, editions were to be found in the *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514), the Aldine edition (1518), and the Strasburg edition of 1526.

Luther's translation of the five books of Moses, the first part of his Old Testament, appeared in 1523, and was of course constantly before Tyndale in his work.

The question arises whether Tyndale had with him in Germany a manuscript of the Wiclifite Old Testament by Nicholas de Hereford or its revision by John Purvey, or whether such resemblances as can be traced between these early versions and his are either accidental or due to recollections of a version familiar to him in his youth. These resemblances are much less numerous than in the New Testament, where there is no possible doubt that Tyndale used Wiclif's work. If Foxe's story of the shipwreck on the voyage to Hamburg in 1529 be accepted,¹ we must conclude that any such manuscript of either of the fourteenth-century Old Testament versions, even if Tyndale originally had one and used it in his first draft of Deuteronomy, was lost in that disaster; and it does not seem likely that it could be promptly replaced by friends in England in time to be used in the work on the Pentateuch.

We come now to the central problem of this inquiry: To what extent did Tyndale use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch?

This question is to be decided only by a comparison of his version with the original, with the Vulgate, with Luther's version, and with Hereford's and Purvey's. It is not so easy of settlement as prejudiced writers on either side have attempted to prove. If his authorship of the books from Joshua to Chronicles in Rogers' and Coverdale's Bibles could be assumed, we should have a larger basis for induction. The Pentateuch consists so largely of straightforward narrative, in which alternative renderings of the Masoretic text are seldom possible; it has so few obscurities as compared with the poetical and prophetic books, that we may diligently compare many chapters in Tyndale, Luther, and the Vulgate, as the present writer has done, without being able to find a single datum for our inquiry. On the other hand, there are in the Pentateuch certain well-known difficulties, due either to rare words, poetic diction, or a corrupt text, which afford a more promising field for such study.

It would be manifestly impracticable to present here in parallel columns the several versions of the entire Pentateuch, or of an entire book. Four-fifths of such material would yield negative results. The method chosen, after a comparison of the entire Pentateuch in the manner indicated, is to select such chapters as offer tangible evidence upon one side or the other—

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

Tyndale's originality on the one hand, his dependence on the Vulgate and Luther on the other hand. Words and phrases presenting variations deemed significant for one reason or another are quoted, with their equivalents in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the two Wicliffe versions, and Luther's version. The first chapter of Genesis is given entire, as a fair specimen of straight narrative prose, and the number and character of data for our inquiry to be found in such prose. Isolated passages from Genesis present further typical examples. From the three considerable poetic pieces in the Pentateuch, Genesis, chap. 49, Deuteronomy, chaps. 32 and 33, are taken such passages as show facts bearing on the discussion; affording, by reason of their difficulties, more numerous tangible instances of dependence or independence than any other portion of the material.

For the Hebrew the Masoretic text is given; for the Septuagint, Swete's text;¹ for the Vulgate, the standard Vatican edition, from a copy printed at Frankfort in 1829 collated with a Venetian edition of 1478 (Newberry Library); for Hereford and Purvey, the edition of the Wiclif Bible by Forshall and Madden (Oxford, 1850); for Luther, a Bible printed at Frankfort in 1583, now in the Newberry Library; for Tyndale, the critical reprint edited by Dr. J. I. Mombert (New York, 1884), the only reprint ever made of Tyndale's Pentateuch. Dr. Mombert's work was conducted with every precaution to insure literal accuracy of reproduction, and is to be depended on so far as the text is concerned. His introduction contains a large amount of bibliographical and other information, together with certain conclusions as to the unsettled historical questions of Tyndale's life, which are at some points in conflict with other authorities. He has also taken the singular course of appending to the text of the Pentateuch, in the form of footnotes, glosses selected from Luther's version and the Rogers Bible of 1537, which at times are confusing to the student. The book was unfavorably reviewed in the *Athenæum* (1885, Vol. I, pp. 500, 562). The reviewer points out many alleged errors in Mombert's bibliographical statements, and ridicules his theory that the Pentateuch was really printed at Wittenberg instead of Marburg. He does not, however, criticise in any respect the fidelity of the reprint of the text of the Pentateuch, with which we are here concerned.

¹ The Hebrew and Greek have been collated with the texts in Walton's *Polyglot* (1657), no copy of the *Complutensian Polyglot* first edition being available. No variations from the modern text were found in the passages herein quoted.

Gen. 1:13	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַיָּם וְאֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַיָּם וְאֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה	καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἑγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα τρίτη.	Et factum est vespere et mane, dies tertius.	And maad is euen and moru, the thrid day.	And the euenitid and morwetid and maad, the thriddle dai.	Da ward aus abend und morgen der dritte Tag.	then of the euenyng and mornyng was made the thyrd daye.	
14	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַיָּם וְאֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה	Καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν θάλασσαν φωστῆρας ἐν τῷ σπέρματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς ἡμέραν τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἀρχεν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτός καὶ διαχωρίζουν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς.	Dixit autem Deus: Fiant luminaria in firmamento caeli, et dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et tempora, et dies et annos:	God forsothe seide, Be ther maad lighgyers in the firmament of heuene, and deuyde thei dai and nygt; and be thei into signes, and tymes, and dales, and geers;	And the euenitid and morwetid and maad, the thriddle dai.	Und Gott sprach: Es werden Lichter under Feste des Himmels die da scheiden tag und nacht und geben zeichen und zeiten, tage und jare	Then sayd God: let there be lighytes in there be lighytes in heuene to deuyde the daye from the nyghte, that they may be vnto signes seasons, days & years.	Independent rendering of γ as final.
15	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַיָּם וְאֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה	καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς φωστῆρας ἐν τῷ σπέρματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Ut luceant in firmamento caeli, et illuminare terram. Et factum est ita.	And lighne thei in the firmament of heuene, and lighne thei the erthe; and maad it is so.	And shyne tho in the firmament of heuene, and lighne tho the erthe; and it was doon so.	Und seven Liechter an der Feste des Himmels dasz die scheinen auf Erden. Und es geschach also.	And let them be lighytes in the firmament of heuene, to shyne vpon the erth. & so it was.	
16	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַיָּם וְאֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת-כָּל-הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת-כָּל-הַחַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר-בָּהֶן וְאֶת-כָּל-הָעוֹף אֲשֶׁר-עָלָה אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה	καὶ ἐποίησαν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους, τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν ἐλάσσονα εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτός, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρους.	Fecitque Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare maius, ut praesesset diei: et luminare minus, ut praesesset nocti, et stellae.	And God made two greet lighgyers, the more lighgyer that it were before to the day: and the lesse lighgyer that it were before to the nygt, and sterres.	And God made twei grete lighs, the gretter ligh that it shuld be before to the dai, and the lesse ligh that it schulde be before to the nygt; and God made sterres;	Und Gott machet zwey grosse Liechter ein gross Liecht das den Tag regiere und ein klein Liecht das die Nacht regiere dazu auch Sterne.	And God made two great lighytes A greater lighyte to rule the daye, & a lesse lighyte to rule the nyghte, and he made sterres also.	Follows L against Heb. LXX H P in using indefinite article, but not in rendering הַכֶּלֶק and הַכֶּלֶק.

Gen. 1:17	Heb.	LXX	VI	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
18	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַכּוֹכָבִים וְאֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים וְאֶת הַיָּרֵחַ וְאֶת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְאֶת הַכּוֹכָבִים וְאֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים וְאֶת הַיָּרֵחַ וְאֶת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ	καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὥστε φαίνεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	Et posuit eas in firmamento caeli, et lucrum super terram, et praesent diei ac nocti, et dividerent lucum ac tenebras. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And he putte hem in the firmament of heuene, that they sholden gyve light vpon the erthe, and that they were before to the dai and nyght, and shuld deuyde light and darknesis. And God saig that it wer good.	And settle tho in the firmament of heuene, that tho schuldens schyne on erthe, and that tho schuldens be before to the dai and nyght, and schuldens deuyde light and darknesis. And God saig that it was good.	Und Gott setz sie an die Feste des Himmels dasz sie schynen auff der Erde und den Tag und die Nacht regierien und schiedten Licht und Finsternisz. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And God put them in the firmament of heaven to shynen vpon the erth, and to rule the daye & the nyghte, and to deuyde the lichte from darknesse. And God sawe yt it was good.	
19	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ	καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸν ξηρὸν καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸν ξηρὸν καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸν ξηρὸν	Et factum est vesper et mane, dies quartus.	And maad is euen and morn, the ferte day.	And the euentid was the morwetid and maad, the fourthe dai.	Da ward ausz abend und morgen der vierdte Tag.	And so of the euentid and morn-nyght was made the fourth daye.	Cf. vs. 5.
20	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ	καὶ εἰσεπορεύθη ἡ γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερεώμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔθηκεν οὐρανός, καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸν ξηρὸν καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸν ξηρὸν	Dixit etiam Deus: Producant aquae reptile animae viventes, et volatiles super terram sub firmamento caeli.	God also seide: Watres bryng the forth the cerrynges kynde of the lyunge soule, and the fleyng kynde vpon the erth, vndre the firmament of heuene.	Also God seide, The watris bryng forth a cerrynges besste of lyunge soule, and a brid fleyng aboue erthe vndre the firmament of heuene.	Und Gott sprach: Es erreg sich das Wasser mit webden und lebendigen Thieren und mit Gevögeln dasz auff Erden unter der Feste des Himmels flegte.	And God sayd, let the water bryng forth creatures that move & have lyfe, & foules for to fleece over the erth vnder the firmament of heaven.	Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P.
21	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ וְאֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ κτήνη τὰ μέγαρα καὶ πάσαν ψυχὴν ζώου ἐρπύτων, ἃ ἐξήγαγεν τὰ ὕδατα κατὰ γῆν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶν πτερόν, ὃν περυσίον, κατὰ γῆν κατὰ τὸ στερεώμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸν ξηρὸν καὶ ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὕδατος καὶ τὸν ξηρὸν	Creavitque Deus cetera grandia, et omnem animam viventem atque motabilem, quam exegit aquae in species suas, et omne volatile secundum genus suum. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And God made of nougt gret whallies, and also leuyng soule and motable, whome watres brought forth into their special kyndes, and al fleynges thing after his kynd. And God saig that it wer good.	And God made of nougt gret whallies, and also leuyng soule and motable, whiche the watris han brought forth in to her kyndis; and God made of nougt ech volatille in his kyngel. And God saig that it was good;	Und Gott schuff grosse Wallische und allerley Thier dasz da lebt und weht und vom Wasser erregt ward ein jegliches nach seiner art und allerley geiderts Gevögeln ein jegliches nach seiner art. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And God created greate whalles and all manner of creatures that lyve and moue, which the waters brought forth in their kindes, and all manner of felered foules in their kyndes. And God sawe that it was good.	Follows LXX and L against Heb. V H P.

	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 2: 1	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת-הָאָרֶץ	ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν	et omnis ornatu- corum	and al the anow- ning of hem.	and al the orna- ment of tho.	mit iren gantz en Heer.	wyth all their ap- parell:	Rejects L's correct rendering for one of his own not so good.
4	כִּים	ἡ ἡμερα	in die	in the day	in the day	zu der zeit	in the tyme	Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P.
5	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת-הָאָרֶץ	καὶ τὰν χλωρὸν ἀ- γροῦ πρό τοῦ γενέ- σθαι τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτοι ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατίθειν	et omne virgultum agri antequam ori- retur in terra. om- nemque herbam regionis priusquam germinaret	and ech bushe of the feeld or it were growun in the erthe, and al erbe of region before that it briownde	and ech lill tre of erthe before that it sprong out in erthe; and he made ech erbe of the feeld before that it briownde	und allerley Bäume auff dem Felde die zuvor nie gewest waren auff Erden Und allerley Kraut auff dem Felde das zuvor nie ge- wachsen war.	and all the shrulbes of the felde be fore they were in the erthe. And all the herbes of the felde before they sprange.	All the versions mis- interpret כִּים. T follows LXX V, however, not L.
9	מָקוֹם	κατὰ ἀνατολὰς	a principio	fro bigynnyng	at the bigynnyng		[a garden in Eden] from the begyn- nyng	Follows LXX V H P against L's correct rendering.
13	וְכָל-אֵץ כֵּשׁ	—Αἰθυσίας	Ethiopiae	at the erthe of Ethiope	at the boond of Ethiope	das gantze Moren- land	all the lande of Inde	An independent con- jecture.
18	דֶּרֶךְ כְּנָעַן	δορυειν κατ' αὐτόν	adjutorium simile sibi	help like hym.	an help lijk to hym self	ein Gehülffen die umb in sey	an helper to beare him company	Follows L in render- ing
3: 4	לֹא מֵרֶחַק מִצְרָיִם	οὐ θαύστω ἀποθα- νείσθῃ	nequaquam morte moricimini	Thurg deth ge shal not die	Ge schulen not die bi deeth	Ir werdet mit nichte desz tods sterben.	tush ye shall not dye	A vigorous independ- ent rendering of the Heb. idiom.
16	וְכָל-אֵץ כֵּשׁ	τας λιπας σου και του στεναγμου	aerumnas tuas et conceptus tuas	thi myses and thi conceyngis	thi wretchidness and thi conseyu- yngis	Ich wil dir vil schmerzen schaf- fen wenn du schwanger wirst Du sollt mit schmerzen Kimler geheren.	I will suerly encrease thy sorrow and make the oft with child	Abandons L's loose paraphrase for an independent ren- dering, showing in the phrase used for וְכָל-אֵץ כֵּשׁ a desire to follow English usage.

Gen. 3:19	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
4: 7	וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה	οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς ἐνέγκας ὁφθαλμοὺς δὲ μὴ διαλασῆς ἡμάρτης ἡνύχασον. πρὸς σε ἡ ἀποστορροφία ἀν- θρώπου καὶ σὺ ἀφῆεις αὐτόν	patris Nonne si bene ege- ris, recipies; sin- autem male, sta- tun in foribus pec- catum aderit; sed sub te erit appeti- tus ejus. et tu do- minaberis illius.	powdre Shalt thou not re- seyue wel, if thou wel dost; ellis for- sothe eucl. anon in the gatis thi synnes shal ben at thee? but vndre thee shal be the appetite of hym. and thou shalt haue lordship of hym.	dust Whether not if thou schalt do wel, thou schalt resseyue; but if thou doist yuele, thi synne shal be present anon in the gatis? but the desir therof shal be vndur thee, and thou schalt be lord ther- of.	Erden Istis nicht also? wenn du fromb bist so bistu angeneme bistu aber nicht von so ruhet die Stunde für die thür. Aber lasz du nie iren wil- len sondern herrsche uber sie.	erth thou art Woest thou not if thou dost well thou shalt receive it? But and yf thou doest euell, by & by thy synne lyeth open in the dore. Notwithstanding let it be subdued unto the, and see thou rule it.	Follows LXX and L against Heb. V H P. Follows V H P against L. Follows H and P against Heb. V L. One of the few cases where influence of H P apart from V can be shown.
8	וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה	καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλαθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, στένων καὶ τρέμων	Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum Egrediamur foras. vagus et profugus	And Cayn seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vagaunt and fer fugitif	And Cayn seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vnstable of dwell- yng and fleyng aboute	Da redet Cain mit seinem Bruder Habel. unstät und flüch- tig.	And Cain talked with Abell his brother a vagabond & a rennagate. I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselfe strypes. generation of man desz menschen Geschlecht	Follows L in omitting the phrase genty by LXX V (H P). Vagabond suggested by V. Rennagate independent. Independent and im- possible. Follows LXX and L against V H P.
12	וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה	ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἀνέκτευνα εἰς τράυμα ἑμοῦ, καὶ νεανίσκον εἰς μυῖα ἑμοῦ.	occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adulescentulum in livorem meum. generationis Adam	I slowe a man into my wound, and a litle waxen man into my wannesse; generacioun of Adam.	Y haue slayn a man bi my wounds, and a gong weyng man bi my violent betyng; generacioun of Adam	Ich hab einen Mann erschlagen mir zur wunden und ein- en Jüngling mir zur beulen. desz menschen Geschlecht	I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselfe strypes. generation of man desz menschen Geschlecht	Follows LXX and L against V H P.
23	וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה	καὶ ἐνῆρπεν ἑμὸν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ οὐκ ἠνώκετο ὁ δόρυ μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός	Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non ap- paruit; quia tulit eum Deus.	And he gede with God, and he aperdyed not; for God toke hym.	And Enoch geed with God, and apperde not afterward, for God took hym awel.	Und diewel er ein Göttlich Leben führte man in Gott hinweg und ward nicht mehr gesehen.	Enoch lyved a goodly life, and was no more sene, for God toke him away	Adopts L's para- phrase instead of Heb. V H P.
5: 1	וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה וְהָיָה אֲדָמָה אֶרֶץ חֲסִידָה	καὶ ἐνῆρπεν ἑμὸν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ οὐκ ἠνώκετο ὁ δόρυ μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός	Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non ap- paruit; quia tulit eum Deus.	And he gede with God, and he aperdyed not; for God toke hym.	And Enoch geed with God, and apperde not afterward, for God took hym awel.	Und diewel er ein Göttlich Leben führte man in Gott hinweg und ward nicht mehr gesehen.	Enoch lyved a goodly life, and was no more sene, for God toke him away	Adopts L's para- phrase instead of Heb. V H P.

Gen. 6: 1	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	καὶ θεογενεῖς ἐγέννηθησαν αὐτοῖς	et filias procreascent	and hadden brought forth dowgrits	and hadden gen- dird dowgrits	und zeugten juen Tochter	had begot them daughters	Follows V H P L against painting of Heb. & LXX.
4	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	οὐ δὲ γίγαντες ᾤσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις	Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis	Gigantes forsothe weren vpon the erthe in the dates.	So the li g i a n t i s weren on erthe in the dates.	Es waren auch zu den zeiten Tyrannen auff Erden.	There were tirantes in the world in thos days	Follows L. without any conceivable reason.
18	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	δαδὴγεν	foetus	couchant	couchant	Bund	myne apoyntement	In his first edition T used various renderings for בְּרֵיתוֹ according to context, but the revision of 1534 substitutes covenant in all cases (following L).
9	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	δαδὴγεν	factum	"	"	Bund	my bond	Follows L. against LXX V H P
13	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	δαδὴγεν	foederis	"	boond	Bund	my apoyntment	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרֵיתוֹ
15	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	δαδὴγεν	foederis	"	"	Bund	my testament	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרֵיתוֹ
17	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	δαδὴγεν	foederis	bonde	"	Bund	my testament	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרֵיתוֹ
12: 2	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	καὶ τῶν εὐλογητῶν	erisque benedictus	thou shalt be blis- sid	thou shalt be blis- sid	und solt ein Segen seyn	that thou mayst be a blessing	Follows L. against LXX V H P
14: 1	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ Ἀμραφελ	factum est autem in illo tempore ut Amraphel	it was don in that tyme, that Am-raphel	it was don in that tyme, that Amrafel	es begab sich zu der Zeit desz Königs Amraphel	it chaunsed within a while that Amra- phel	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרֵיתוֹ
15: 2	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολυνομαι ἀρετῶν· ὁ δὲ νόμος Μάρκας τῆς οἰκονομίας μου, ὁρθὸς Δαμασκῶς· Ἐλεάζαρ	Ego, vadam absque libris, et filius procuratoris domus meae, iste Damas- cus Eleazer	I shall go withouten fre children, and the some of the proctour of myn hows, this Damask of Elyzar, shal be myn eyre.	Y shall go with out fre children, and this Damask, some of Elyeser, the procurator of myn hows, shal be myn eyr.	Ich gebe dahin on kinder und mein Hausvogt dieser Elieser von Da- masco hat einen Son.	I goo childesse, and the cater of myne house, this Eliesar of Damasco hath a son.	All the versions mis- understand בְּרֵיתוֹ. Follows L. instead of V or H P.
6	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	καὶ ἐλογασθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην	Et reputatum est illi ad iustitiam	and it was allowid to hym to rygwis- nes.	and it was aretid to hym to rightul- nesse.	und das rechnet er im zur gerechtich- keit	and it was counted to hym for righti- iveness	Does not follow L's correct rendering.
17: 1	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ כִּדְמוּתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ אֶת-אָדָם בְּצַל-בְּרֵיתוֹ יִבְרָא אֹתוֹ	ἐπαρσεν ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γινούσμενος	ambula coram me, et esto perfectus	go before me, and be thou perfite	go thou before me, and be thou perfut	wandle für mir und sey fromb	and it was counted to hym for righti- iveness	A good independent rendering of בְּרֵיתוֹ

	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 18: 10	כֶּסֶד הָיָה	κατα τον καιρον του- του εις ωρας	tempore isto, vita comite	this tyme, the biff kedere	in this tyme, if Y lyue	so ich lebe	as some as the frute can lyue	All stumble on this obscure phrase. T ventures his own conjecture differ- ent from all others.
22: 14	כָּרַה יְהוָה יְהוָה	εν τω δεκα Κυριος ωσθη	In monte Dominus videbit	In the hil the Lord shal se	The Lord schal see in the hil.	Auff dem Berge da der Herr siliet.	In the mounte will the Lord be sene	T does not follow pointing of כָּרַה as const., but does follow passive pointing of verb against other ver- sions.
23: 2	קָרַה אַרְבֶּה	πολει 'Αρβοκ	in civitate Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in der Hauptstadt	in a heade cye	Follows L against others.
15	אֶרְבֶּה אֶרְבֶּה מֵאֵל שֶׁנֶּכֶסֶת כִּי־יִבְרָא וְהִכֵּה מִדֶּהֲרָה	τετρασσοισων διδραχ- μων αργυριον ανα- παρος μου και σου τι αυ ειη τουτο	Terra, quam postu- las, quadrangenis siclis argenti valet; istud est pretium inter me et te, sed quantum est hoc	the erthe that thou askist is worth four hundred sicles of siluer, this is the pris bitwix me and thee but what is that?	the lond which thou axist is worth four hundred sicles of siluer, that is the prijs bitwize me and thee, but hou myche is this?	Das Feld ist vier hun- dert Sekel Silbers wehrt. Was ist das aber zwischen mir und dir.	The lande is worth four hundred syl- cles of sylver: But what is that betwixte the and me?	T follows L in a sub- stantially correct but not literal rendering.
27: 41	יָקָרְבִי יִמִּי אֶבֶל אָבִי וְהָאֲרֵרָה אֵת יָקָב אָחִי;	εγγισατωσαν αι ημε- ραι του πεινους του πατρος μου, ινα αποσπεινω Ιακωβ τον αδελφον μου	veniant dies luctus patris mei, et oc- cidam Jacobum fratrem meum	the days of wellyng of my fader shal come, and I shal slee Jacob my brother	the daies of moren- yng of my fadir schulke come, and Y schal sle Jacob, my brother	Es wirdt die zeit bald kommen dasz mein Vatter leyde tragen musz Denn ich wil meinen Bruder Jacob erwürgen.	The dayes of my fa- thers sorowe are at hude, for I will sky my brother Jacob	Follows L against LXX V H P.
40: 3	הָיָה בְרִי אֶתָּה כָּרַה וְהָאֲרֵרָה אֵת יָקָב שָׂמָא יָהִר עֵינָי;	Πουθεν πρωτοκοσ μου, ου ισχυ μου και ερχη τεκνω μου· σκληρος δε- σμεναι και σκληρος αιδεσθης.	Ruben primogenitus meus, tu fortitudo mea, et principium doloris mei; prior in donis, major in imperio.	Ruben, my first getun, thou my strengthie, and the begynning of my sowe; first in giftis, and more in comaundyng;	Ruben, my firste gen- dril sone, thou art my strengthie and the begynnyng of my sorowe; thou oughtist to be the former in giftis, the more in lordship;	Ruben mein erster Sohn Du bist meine Kraft und der oberst in Opfer und der oberst in Reich.	Ruben, thou art myne eldest sone, my myghtie and the begynnyng of my strength, chefe in reccaunge and chefe in power.	Follows L in correct rendering of אֶתָּה. In rendering שָׂמָא T is independent and wrong.

Gen. 40:10	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	לאִסְרוּ שֶׁבַע מִיָּדוֹתָהּ וּמִחֶמֶק מִבֵּין הַנָּחַל עַד כִּיבֵּיא שִׁלְחָה וְהָיָה יָקוֹבָה עִמָּהּ	οἱ τελευτων αρχων εἰς Ἰουδα, καὶ ἡγου- μενος ἐς τὸν μαργον αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἐλθῇ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐ- τῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσ- δοκῇ ἐθῶν.	Non auferetur scep- trum de Iuda, et dux de femore eius, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.	The septe fro Iuda shal not be takun away, and a duke fro the leende of hym, to the tyme that he come that is to be sent, and he shal be the abdyng of folk of kynde,	The septe shal not be takun away fro Iuda, and a duke of his hiye, til he come that shal be sent, and he shal be abdyng of he- thene men;	Es wirt das Septer von Iuda nicht entwendet werden noch ein Meister von seinen Fü- ßen bis das der Held komme und denselben werden die Völker an- hängen.	The septe shal not departe from Iuda, nor a ruler from betwene his legges, vntill Silo come, vnto whome the people shal herke- en.	L avoids the diffi- culty by a para- phrase, as usual. T rejects the impos- sible attempt of V to derive from שִׁלְחָה, but not having anything better to offer, he transliterates.
11	אָסִיר לִנְפֹשׁ עִירָה וּלְשֶׁרָקָה בֵּין אֲחָיו כֶּסֶם בֵּין כֶּבֶשׂ וּבָרֶסֶס תִּבְרַם סוֹדָהּ	δεσμίων προς ἄμπε- λον τὸν πῶλον αὐ- τοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἐλακί- τῶν πῶλον τῆς οἴσου αὐτοῦ. πλυνεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἰμα- τι σταφύλης τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ.	Ligans ad vineam pullum suum, et ad vitum, o fili mi, asiam suam, lava- bit in vino stolam suam, et in sau- guine uvae pallium suum.	Bydyng to a vyn- gerd his colt, and to a vyn, O! my sone, his she asse, he shal washe in wyne his stoole, and in blood of a grape his mantil;	and he schal tye his colt at the vyn, and his fe- mal asse at the vyn; Al! my sone, he schal waiche, his stoole in wyn, and his mantil in the blood of grape;	Er wirt sein Füllen an den Weinstock binden und seiner Eselin Son an den edlen Reben Er wirdt sein Kleid im Wein waschen und seinen Man- tel Weinstockblut.	He shall bynde his fole vnto the vine, and his asses colt vnto the vyne brauncie, and shall wash his garment in wyne and his mantell in the bloud of grapes,	
12	הַכֹּלֵל עֵינָיו מִיָּיָה וּלְבָבֹהּ שִׁימָה מַחֲבִיב	χαρταῖοι· οἱ δὲ θάλα- μοι αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ οἱ δοῦντες αὐτοῦ ἡ γάλα.	Pulchrioris sunt oculi ejus vino, et dentes ejus lacte candi- diores.	Fayrer ben the eyen of hym than wyn, and the teeth of hym whiter than mylk.	Hise igen ben fair- ere than wyn, and hise teeth ben whi- tere than mylk.	Seine Augen sind röttlicher denn Wein und seine Zecne weisser denn Milch.	his eyes are rounder than wyne, ad his teeth whitter then mylke.	Follows all the ver- sions in the not un- natural misinter- pretation of the ad- jectives with ἡ as comparatives.
13	זָבֻלֹן זָכֹן מִיָּמִין יִשְׁכֵּן הָרֵחַ הַחֹם אֶת־הַיָּרֵחַ וְהַיָּרֵחַ עַל־עֵדֶן	Ζαβουλὼν παράλιος κατοικήσει, καὶ αὐ- τὸς παρ' ὅρων πλούτων, καὶ παρο- τενέει εὐς Σιδωνος.	Zabulon in litore maris habitabit, et in statione navium pertingens usque ad Sidonem.	Zabulon in the brynke of the see shal dwelle, and in the station of shippes, archyng vnto Sidon.	Zabulon schal dwelle in the brenk of the see, and in the stondyng of shippis; and schal stretche til to Sydon.	Sebulon wirdt an an- fuhrt desz Meers wohnen und an anfuhr der Schiffe und reichen an Sidon.	Zabulon shall dwell in the haufen of the see and in the porte of shippes, & shall reache vnto Sidon.	The Revisers have rendered זָכֹן differently in the two clauses, but T and the earlier ver- sions are right.

Gen. 49:14	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
15	ישכר חמר בין רבין בין המשרים : ויהי	Ἰσάχαρ τὸ καλὸν ἐπρόβλεπεν, ἀνα- παύματος ἀνά με- σον τῶν κληρῶν. καὶ ὤκων τὴν ἀνάπαυ- σιν ὅτι καλὴ, καὶ τὴν γῆν ὅτι πλου- τήθηκεν τὸν ὅκων. αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός.	Isachar, asinus fortis accubans inter ter- minos, Vidit requiem quod esset bona, et ter- ram quod optima, et supposit hu- merum suum ad portandum factus, que est tributus ser- viciis.	Isachar, an he asse strong, lyingge bitwix the termes, Sawg rest that it was good, and the bond that it was best, and vnder- stode his shuldr to here, and he is maad to tributs servynge.	Isachar, a strong asse, lyingge bi- twix termes, Seig reste, that it was good and sog the lond that it was best, and he vndre- stode his shuldre to here, and he was maad servynge to tributis.	Isachar wirt ein betwix Eser lügen und sich lügen zwischen die Grentzen. Und er sahe die ruhe dasz sie gut ist und das landt dasz es bestig ist Er hat also seine schul- tern genickt zu tragen und ist ein zinszaher Knecht worden.	Isachar is a strong asse, he couched him doune be- twene it borders, And sawe that rest was good and the lande that it was pleasant, and bowed his shulder to beare, and be- came a servaunte vnto trybute.	T notices the dual, ignored by others.
16	יהודה בין רבין בין המשרים : ויהי	Δαν κρείττον τὸν εἰνα- τοῦ λαοῦ, ὡς καὶ μία φύλη ἐν Ἰσ- ραήλ. Δαν, κρείττον τὸν πε- παισμένον αὐτὸν αὐ- τὸς δὲ πεπατισμένος αὐτὸν κατὰ πόδας. Ἰσραήλ, πλουτὶς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀγρός, καὶ αὐτὸς δου- λοῦσιν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ.	Dan judicabit popu- lum suum sicut et alia tribus in Is- rael. Gad, accinctus prae- ludat amicum, et ipse accingetur retorsum. Aser, pinguis panis- cipus, et praeclat delicias regionis. Aser, the fat breed of hym, and he shall give delicies to kynge.	Dan shal deme his puple, and as an- other fynage in Is- rael. Gad, gird shal feigt before hym, and he shal be gird bi hynde. Aser, the fat breed of hym, and he shall give delicies to kynge.	Dan schal deme his puple, as also an- other fynage in Is- rael. Gad schal be gird, and schal feigt bi- for hym, and he shal be gird bi hynde. Aser his breed schal be plenteuous. Und er wirt den delis is to kynge.	Dan wirdt Richter seyen in seinen Volk wie ein an- der Geschlecht in Israel. Gad gerüst wirt das Heer führen und wider herumb führen.	Dan shall indge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel. Gad, men of warre, shall invade him and he shall turne them to flight.	Follows V.
20	נפתלי בין רבין בין המשרים : ויהי	נפתלי, πλουτὶς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀγρός, καὶ αὐτὸς δου- λοῦσιν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ.	Nephthali, pinguis panis- cipus, et praeclat delicias regionis. Nephthali, the fat breed of hym, and he shall give delicies to kynge.	Nephthali shal deme his puple, and as an- other fynage in Is- rael. Nephthali, gird shal feigt before hym, and he shal be gird bi hynde. Nephthali, the fat breed of hym, and he shall give delicies to kynge.	Nephthali schal deme his puple, as also an- other fynage in Is- rael. Nephthali schal be gird, and schal feigt bi for hym, and he shal be gird bi hynde. Nephthali his breed schal be plenteuous. Und er wirt den delis is to kynge.	Nephthali wirdt seyen in seinen Volk wie ein an- der Geschlecht in Israel. Nephthali gerüst wirt das Heer führen und wider herumb führen.	Nephthali is a strong asse, he couched him doune be- twene it borders, And sawe that rest was good and the lande that it was pleasant, and bowed his shulder to beare, and be- came a servaunte vnto trybute.	Follows V.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 49:26	εὐλογίας πατρός σου καὶ μητρὸς σου. εὐερίσχυσεν ἐν εὐλογίαις ὅραων μουναῖας, καὶ ἐν εὐλογίαις θείων ἀνθρώπων ἐσονται ἐνὶ ἀσφαλὲς Ιω- σήφ, καὶ ἐνὶ κορυ- φῇ ὡς ἡγεμόνατος ἀβραάμ.	Benedictiones patris tui confortatae sunt benedictionibus patrum ejus, donec veniret desiderium collum aeterno- rum, fuit in capite Joseph, et in ver- tice Nazaraei inter fratres suos.	The blessingis of thi fadir ben coum- fortid, ben the blessingis of the fadris of hym, to the tyme that were comen the desyre of euerlastynge hillis; ben thei maad in the heed of Joseph, and in the heed of Naza- reth bretheren.	The werkis of God ben perfyt, and alle hise weites ben domes; God is feithful, and with- out any wickid- nesse; God is iust and rigthful.	Die segn deines Vaters gehen stercker denn die segn meiner Vorältern (nach wunsche der Hohen in die Welt) und sollen kom- men auf das Haupt Joseph und auf die Scheitel des Nasir unter seinen Brüdern.	The blessingis of thy father were as stronge: even as the blessingis of my elders, after the desyre of the hiest in the worlde, and these blessingis shall fall on the head of Joseph, and on the toppe of the head of him yt was separat from his bretheren.	Disregards L's cor- rect translation. Follows L's fantastic conjecture. Independent in trans- lating יִדְדֵי .
De. 32:4	θεός, ἀγαθὸν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πασαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρί- σις· θεός πιστός, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀδ- ικία· δικαίος καὶ ὁσιος Κύριος.	Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus iudicia; Deus fidelis, et aliquae ulla iniqui- tate, justus et rec- tus.	Of God perfyt ben the werkys, and alle his weyes domes; a trewe God, and with outen eny wickidnes, rygt wis and even.	The werkis of God ben perfyt, and alle hise weites ben domes; God is feithful, and with- out any wickid- nesse; God is iust and rigthful.	Er ist ein Felsz seine Werk sind unsträflich Denn alles was er thut das ist recht. Trew ist Gott und kein böses an im Gerecht und fromb ist er.	He is a rocke and perfecte are his deades, for all his wayes are with dis- cretion. God is faithfull and with- out wickednesse, both rightuous and juste is he.	Avoids the bold Heb. figure. His para- phrase is independ- ent.
5	ἡμάρτησαν, οἱ αὐτοὶ τρεῖς, μομφὰ γε- νέσασθαι καὶ δι- στραμεῖν.	Pecaverunt ei, et non filii ejus in sordibus; genera- tio prava atque perversa.	Thei han synned to hym, and not his sones in filthis; shrewid kynred, and mysturnyd.	Thei synned agens hym, and not hise sones in filthis; that is, of idolatry; shrewid and wai- ward generacion.	Die verkehrte und löse art sellet von jme ab Sie sind Schandflecken und nicht seine Kinder.	The forwarde and ouerthwarte gen- eracion hath married them selves to hinward, and are not his sonnes for their deformi- ties sake,	Independent render- ing of ἡμάρτησαν . in keeping with the context, which L's is not.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Dt. 32: 7	μνησθητε ἡμέρας αἰώνων, σὺν ἐρετῇ γενεῶν γενεάς ἐνεργήσαντων τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ ἀνεργήσαντος τοῦ προσβυτέρου σου, καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι.	Memento dictum antiquorum, cogita generationes singulas; interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi; majores tuos, et dicent tibi;	Haue mynde of olde days, and think eche generacions; aske thi fader, and he shal telle to thee, and thi more, and thei shulen seie to thee.	Haue thou minde of elde dates, thenke thou alle generacions; axe thi fadir, and he shal telle to thee, axe thi greitere men, and thei schulen seie to thee.	Bedenck der vorigen Zeit bisz daher und betracht was er gethan hat an den alten Vätern Frage deinen Vater der wirdt dir sagen verkündigen die deine Eltesten die werden dir sagen.	Remember the dayes that are past: consyre the yeres from tyme to tyme. Axe thy fader and he will shewe the, thyne elders and they wyll tell the.	Independent, nearer literal than L.
8	ὅτε διεκρίθη, ὡς διεσπείρεν υἱὸς Ἀδάμ, ἐστῆσαν ὅρα ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἑσθλῶν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.	Quando dividit Altissimus gentes, quando separavit filios Adam, constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel.	Whanne daydyde the highest folkis, whanne he seuerde the sones of Adam, he sette the termys of puplis after the nouthre of the sones of Yrael.	Whanne the bigeste departide folkis, whanne he departide the sones of Adam, he ordeynede the termis of puplis bi the nouthre of the sones of Israel.	Da der Allerhöchste die Völker zertheilt und zerstreuet der Menschen Kinder. Da setzt er die Grenzen der Völker nach der zahl der Kinder Israel.	When the most highest gaue the nations an enheritance, and diuided the sonnes of Adam he put the borders of the nations, fast by the multitude of the childern of Israel.	Independent and wrong.
10	αὐτάραξαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐν δόψει καυκάτος, ἐν γῇ ἀνύστατον. ἐκώσων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπείθεν σεν αὐτὸν, καὶ διεφλέξαν αὐτὸν ὡς κέραν ὀφθαλμοῦ.	Invenit eum in terra deserta, in loco horrois et vastae solitudinis, circumduxit eum et docuit; et custodivit quasi pupillam oculi sui;	He found hym in a desert boond, in place of orroure, and of waast wilderness; he ladde hym aboute, and taughte, and kept as the apple of his eye.	The Lord found hym in a desert lond, in the place of orroure, and of waast wilderness; the Lord ledde hym aboute, and taughte, and kepte as the apple of his eye.	Er fandt in in der Wüsten in der dürem Einöde da es heulet. Er führet in und gab im das Gesetz Er behütet in wie sein Augapfel.	He founde him in a deserte londe, in a voyde ground and a rorynge wilderness, he led him aboute and gaue him understandyng, and kepte him as the apple of his eye.	Follows L. Independent, a good rendering.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
32:25	מחר ומחר חרב ומהריב אמה גבר בחרב יגביהו לה תקן עבד אש שיבה:	ἔσθ' ὁ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐ- τοῦ μάχαυρα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ταμίων φο- βος· ἡ νείκερος οὖν παρρησίᾳ, θηράζων μετὰ καθήστους πρεβύτου.	Fortis vastabit eos gladius et intus pavor juvenem simul ac virginem, lactentem cum homine sene.	With out forth shal waast him sword, and with yn forth dreed; the gong to gidre and may- den, the sowkinge with the old man.	Sword with outforth and drede with ynne schal waste hem; a gong man and a virgyn to gidre, a soukynge child with an elde man.	Auszweig wirt sie das Schwerdt be- rauben und inn- wendig das schrecken beyde Jünglinge und die Jungfrauen die Säuglinge mit dem grauen Mann.	Without forth, the sword shall robbe thē off their children; and wythin in the chamber, feare: both young men and younge wemen and the suckelynges with the mē of gray heedes.	Independent, literal, and vivid.
26	אמרתי אשריהם אשריהם באוט דכרם:	ἔτα διασπορῶν αὐ- τοῦ, πάντων δὲ ἐγ- ειρωμένων τῷ μέ- μουνον αὐτῶν.	Dixi: Ulinam sunt? cessare faciam ex hominibus memo- riam eorum.	And I seide, Where forsothe ben they? to cresse Y shal maak for men the mynde of hem.	And Y seide, where ben they? Y schal make the mynde of hem to ceesse of men.	Ich wil sagen: Wo sind sie? Ich werde sie gedäch- niss auffheben unter dē Mensch- en.	I have determind to scatter thē therowout the worlde, ād to make awaye the remē- braunce of them from among men.	Follows LXX, para- phrasing slightly; rejects the erro- neous rendering of Y (H P) L.
27	לכל כנס ארוב אשר פנינו ירחיק פנינו ירחיק רחוק ראה רחוק פלג כל זמנתי:	εἰ μὴ δι' ὅτι ὄργην ἐλάβον, τοιοῦτον μα- κροτέρως, ἢ να μη συνεσταλαγμένοι ὑπεραντίον, μη εἰ- σωσιεν· ἢ χρίσησαν ἡ ὑψηλὸν καὶ οὐχί κύριος σταυρήσει ταῦτα πάντα.	Sed propter iram ini- micorum distuli, non forte superbi- rent hostes eorum, et decerent: Maus nostra ex- celsa, et non Domi- nus, fecit haec omnia.	But for the wrath of enemies I lafte for a while, lest per- aventure wolden wece provide the enemies of hem, and seye, Oure hige hoond, and not the Lord, hath doon alle thes things.	But Y delayed for the yre of enemies, lest peradventure the enemies of hem shuld be proude, and seie, Oure hig hoond, and not the Lord, did alle these things.	Wenn ich nit den zorn der Feinde schenkwete dass nicht jre Feinde stoltz würden un müchten sagen: Unser Macht ist hoch und der Herr hat nicht solches alles gethan.	We're it not that I feared the rayt- ynge off theyr enymies, lest their adversaries wolde be proude and saye: our hye hande hath done all these workes and not the Lorde.	Rejects L's loose paraphrase
28	כרתי אתר עצמי תמה תמה תמה תמה תמה תמה תמה:	ἐθέλω ἀπολαέξω βοῆαν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη.	Gens absque consilio est, et sine pruden- tia.	Folk with out coun- sell it is, and with out wisdom;	It is a folk without counsel and with- out prudencie;	Denn es ist ein Volk da kein Rath inn ist und ist kein Verstand in jen.	For it is a nation that hath an vn- happy forecast. and hath no vn- derstone in them.	Independent and wrong

Di. 33: 20	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וְלֵךְ אִמֶּךָ בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ שֶׁכֶן רַחֲמֶיךָ דָּרַת אִמֶּךָ קִרְבִּי:	Και τὸ γὰρ εἶπεν· Ἐὐλογημένος ὁ θεὸς ὡς λέων ἀνεναντίας, συν-τριψάς θραχύονα καὶ ἀρχοντα.	Et Gad ait: Benedictus in latitudine Gad; quasi leo requievit, cepitque brachium et verticem.	And to Gad he said, Blesseed Gad, as a lion he restide, and he took arme and fortop.	And he seide to Gad, Gad is blesid in broodnesse; he restide as a lion, and he took the arm and the nol.	Und zu Gad sprach er: Gad sey gesegnet der Raumacher. Er ligt wie ein Löw und raubet den Arm und die Scheitel.	And unto Gad he said: blessed is the rowmaker Gad. He dwelleth as a lion and caught the arme ad also the toppie of the heed.	Adopts L's word.
21	וְיָרָא רֵאשִׁית לֵךְ כִּרְשִׁי חֲבֵקָה מִחֻקֵּךְ סֶפֶן רֵחָא רֵאשִׁי עִם בְּרַחֲמֵי יְהוָה וְשֵׁהָ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל:	καὶ ἰδὲν ἀπαρχὴν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκεί ἐμερισθη γὰρ ἀρχόντων, συντημένον ἅμα ἀρχηγούς λαόν· δι-κασιουργόν Κύριος ἐποίησεν καὶ κρι-σιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰσραὴλ.	Et vidit principatum suum, quod in parte sua doctor esset repositus, qui fuit: cum principibus populi et fecit iustitias Domini. et iudicium suum cum Israel.	And he saug his prynschod, that in his part a doctor he was seid up; the which was with princis of puple, and dide rightwises of the Lord, and hys doom with Yrael.	And he sig his princis, that the techere was kept in his part; which Gad was with the princis of the puple, and dide the rightfulnesses of the Lord, and his doom with Israel.	Und er sahe daz im ein Haupt gegeben war ein Lehrer der verborgen ist welcher kam mit dem Obersten des Volcks und verschafft die Gerechtigkeit des Herrn und seine Rechte an Israel.	He sawe his beginninge, that a parte of the teachers were hyd there ad come with the beedes of the people, and executed the rightwises of the Lorde and his iudgements with Israel.	In this corrupt passage we can only say that T had his own guess, which is no better and no worse than the rest.
25	בְּרַחֲמֵי הַחֶשֶׁת מִנְעֵלֶךְ הַכִּמְצִי הַבָּאִי:	σίδερος καὶ χαλκὸς τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ ἔσται, ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι σου ἢ ταχὺς σου,	Ferrum et aes calcamentum ejus: Sicut dies juventutis tuae, ita et senectus tua	Yrun and bras the shoyng of him; as days of thi gough so and thin eelde.	Yrun and bras the scho of hym; as the dei of thi gouth so and thin eelde.	Yrun und Ertz sey an seinen Schuhen Dein Alter sey wie deine Jugend.	Yrun and brasse shall hang on thi shoves and thine age shalbe as thi youth.	Follows V H P L against Heb. LXX.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
אשר אל שמו בברך הנאות שחקים:	οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς πρὸς θεὸς τοῦ ἡγαγέμε- νον· ὁ ἐπὶ βλαῖον ἐστὶν τὸν οὐρανὸν βοηθὴς σου, καὶ ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τοῦ στρεψώματος· καὶ σκεπάζει σε θεὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ ὁ ἀρχὸν βραχίονα ἀνίσταν· ἐξελθὲς ἀπὸ πρῶτον σου ἐλθόν· λέγων Ἀνά- στα.	Non est Deus alius, ut Deus rectissim; ascensor caeli aux- ilator tuus. Mag- nificencia ejus dis- current nubes, habituaculum ejus sursum, et sulcus brachia sempi- terna; efficit a- nimum facie tua inimicum, dicteque Con- terre.	There is noon other god as the moost right God; the stier of heuen thin helper, thurg the hidows doyng of hym to and fro ren- nen the clowdes. The dwellynge place of hym is above, and above, and vnder- neath curlystynge armys; he shal cast out fro thi face the enemy, and he shall seye Be thou to trede.	Noon other god is as the God of the most right; the stiere of heuene, thin helpere, cloudis rennen about in the glorie of hym. His dwellynge place is above, and armys curlyst- ynge ben byndhe; he schal caste out fro thi face the enemy, and he schal seie, Be thou al to brokun.	Es ist kein Gott als der Gott desz Gerichten der in Himmel sitzt. Der sey deine Hülffe und desz Herr- ligkeit in Walcken ist. Das ist die Wohnung Gottes von anlang in den Armen ewiglich. Und er wirt für dir her deinen Feindt ausztreiben und sagen: Ich sey vertilget.	There is none like vnto the God of the off Israel; he that sitteth vpon heauen shal he thin helpe, whose glorie is in the cloudes; that is the dwellynge place of God from the be- gynnyng and from vnto the armes of the worlde; he hath cast out thine enemies before the and sayed: de- stroye.	Translates ישׁרן The passage puzzle. all the translators. T follows L in the first clause, ventures into the realm of independ- ent conjecture in the second, with- out conveying any intelligible mean- ing. Follows V against L.
השמן השמן השמן בסח בבר עין יקב אל ארץ דן הירוש אשמשון הרש-טל:	καὶ κατασκηνώσει ἱσραὴλ πεποθὼς, μοῖσες ἐστὶ γὰρ Ἰα- κώβ· ἐστὶ σωτὴρ σου οἶνον, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς σου συντρέφεις δρο- σιν.	Habitabit Israel con- fidenter, et solus. Oculus Jacob in terra frumenti et vini, calque cali- ginitur rore.	Ysacl shal dwell trustlyche, and almoone; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn; and heuens schulen wexe derk thurg dewe.	Israel schal dwelle trestle and almoone; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn; and heuene schulen be derk with deu.	And Israel shall dwell in safetye alone. And the eyes of Jacob shall loke apon a londe of corne and Most is wynne, moreouer his heauen shall droppe with dewe.		

From such comparisons, carried through the Pentateuch, we discover: (1) that Tyndale did not make a literal, unaided version from the Hebrew, as if no other translation existed; (2) that he did not modernize and revise the work of Nicholas de Hereford and John Purvey; (3) that he did not make a translation from the Vulgate and then revise it by comparison with the Hebrew and Luther's version.

1. If Tyndale had confined himself to the Hebrew, referring only occasionally to the Vulgate or Luther for help on obscure passages, we should expect only occasional coincidences of phraseology and interpretation with those versions, and these in places where some special reason for difficulty existed. But this is not the condition shown by the parallel versions. In simple narrative prose there is little room for alternative renderings, hence examples taken from such material yield negative results: if Tyndale in such chapters follows V and L closely, it is simply because they in turn follow the Hebrew closely, and no one can say in any given verse which text lay before Tyndale's eyes when he wrote his translation of it. But coincidences in such passages as the three poetic chapters quoted afford positive evidence of borrowing, not only in the difficult, but in the easy verses. A Hebrew sentence in the poetic style, even though not obscure, may be translated with many more chances of variety than a prose sentence; and a large proportion of agreements with Luther here cannot be accidental.

But the comparison of the versions, even in the few passages presented in the preceding pages, establishes beyond any question what has sometimes been seriously denied—that Tyndale did use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch. The cases where he, against all the versions, renders the Hebrew literally are not numerous, but they are incontrovertible. Evidence of Tyndale's acquaintance with Hebrew, drawn from his own autobiographical references in his writings, and in the glossaries of proper names attached to the books of the Pentateuch, may be held by some judges not conclusive as to anything more than a smattering of the language. But these cases of independent correct rendering from the Hebrew imply thorough study.

It is to be noted that Tyndale learned, either from Luther's version or from his own study, much of the correct syntax of dependent clauses introduced by *Waw*. He translates many of these more in accordance with the correct principles of rendering Semitic idiom into English than our English translators of later times have shown. He is generally right in his treatment of the Hebrew tenses, abandoning the slavish literalness

of the Septuagint and Vulgate;¹ though here again one must often admit his indebtedness to Luther. In common with the ancient versions and with Luther, he sometimes ignores the construct as shown by the pointing and the absence of the article, which seems a rather serious fault in a translator. One characteristic difference from Luther is that he retains certain Hebrew idioms which lend themselves well to rhythms of English style; for example, where the Hebrew would say "sacrifices of righteousness," Luther would make it perhaps "righteous sacrifices," but Tyndale would keep the construct with the abstract noun. One might trace this idiom from Tyndale's Pentateuch down through the later translators of the Old Testament into its many ramifications in English prose style.

Tyndale is too honest to slip out of a difficulty by a vague paraphrase, as Luther did. Examples of this are found in the chapters quoted. In few cases did Tyndale possess the scholarship to hit on the correct clue to a puzzle due to corrupt text or a *hapax legomenon*; but he at least has the courage to abandon Luther when the German translator merely blinked the difficulty. Sometimes he prefers in such cases to cling to the time-honored rendering of Jerome; sometimes he offers his own conjecture, which is often wrong. There is at least a measure of independence in this attitude.

Tyndale was a much better scholar in Greek than in Hebrew, and we should therefore expect extensive use of the Septuagint. There are sufficient data to prove that he consulted it constantly; but, after all, it afforded him comparatively little assistance, because the chief value of this version—as a guide in textual emendation—was unknown in Tyndale's day. There is no evidence in Tyndale's Pentateuch, so far as the present writer has discovered, that he ventured a single emendation of the Masoretic text on textual grounds.²

2. As to the use made of the Wiclifite versions, Tyndale's own declaration that he derived no aid from them is on the whole supported by the comparison. Both Hereford's and Purvey's versions are not only Middle English, thoroughly obsolete in 1529, but they are very crabbed and unidio-

¹ This knowledge he used in his translation of the New Testament Greek. "If ought seme chaunged, or not alto gether agreyng with the Greke, let the finder of the faute cōsider the Hebrue phrase, or maner of speache left in the Greke wordes. Whose preterperfectence and presentence is of both one, and the futurtence is the optative mode also, and the futurtence is of the imperative mode in the active voyce and in the passive ever. Like wise person for person, nombre for nōbre, and interrogative for a condicionall and suche lyke is with the Hebrues a comon usage." ("Preface to N. T., William Tindale unto the Christian Reader.")

² See, for example, Gen. 40:19.

matic Middle English, because copied bodily, and often unintelligently, from the Vulgate. The case is far different from that of Wiclif's own version of the New Testament, connection between which and Tyndale's New Testament is much closer, as has been shown by writers on that subject. Where we find coincidences of phrase between Tyndale's Pentateuch and the two fourteenth-century versions, we can usually trace them to the common Latin source. Occasionally a combination of words occurs which cannot be referred to such a source, and we are led to surmise that Tyndale's recollection of versions doubtless familiar to him in early life influenced him in the choice of a phrase; but these instances are not sufficiently numerous to establish any presumption that he had a manuscript of either version before him in Germany.

3. Nothing is made clearer by the comparison than that the Vulgate was not Tyndale's basis in his work. He was fond of saying that Hebrew was much more like English than it was like Latin; and, indeed, he showed in many little ways that he had no love for the official ecclesiastical version. If he had worked directly and primarily from it, he could not have avoided many Latin idioms, especially in the syntax, which are absent from his translation. While no doubt influenced by the Vulgate in the choice of words, such as "create," "firmament," and many more, it is most certainly not the text from which he directly translated.

The conclusion at which we arrive, therefore, by the process of exclusion, is that Tyndale in translating his Pentateuch kept constantly before him the Hebrew text and Luther's version, with the Septuagint and Vulgate within easy reach, and fragments of the Middle English archaisms running through his mind as he worked; that he probably made his first draft from the German, checking it constantly by the Hebrew, and departing from it in nearly every case where he detected Luther in an evasion; that he carried into this work the same principle already established in his New Testament, of making an idiomatic English work in the language of the common people rather than of the learned; transferring such Semitic idioms as approved themselves to him as easily understood and more vigorous than paraphrase.

It has been pointed out, in the earlier part of this paper, that the unhappy fate by which Tyndale's Old Testament was cut off so near the beginning should not detract from the honor due to him as the father of Hebrew scholarship among Englishmen, and the author of the first version in English made from the Hebrew. To attempt to estimate his influence on the style of the men who completed the Old Testament after his death would lead us too far into the realm of conjecture. It will suffice to insist

that in the year 1529 there were many different ways of translating the five books of Moses, any one of which might have been adopted by an Englishman with Tyndale's equipment; many styles, most of which would have been Latinized, cumbrous, and periphrastic; and that of all these the one which we find in our Bible today is the style of Tyndale, which no Englishman had used before him. Whether one should call this a case of direct literary lineage, or should rather refer it to widely diffused linguistic influences which brought about a great change between the beginning and the middle of the sixteenth century, is a matter of opinion. If we bring into our field of view at this point Tyndale's New Testament, the popularity and influence of which were so much greater, there can remain no doubt that the martyr of Vilvorde deserves the pre-eminent rank so often accorded to Coverdale and the bishops who entered into the reward of his heroic labors.

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PRINTED IN U. S. A.

